

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 IO-13
AID-05 ACDA-07 ARA-06 MC-02 /105 W
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O R 250651Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4480
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MOGADSCIO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 1771

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG MEETS WITH SUDAN'S PRESIDENT NIMEIRI

SUMMARY: AMB YOUNG'S DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT NIMEIRI IN KHARTOUM MAY 24 LASTED APPROXIMATELY 90 MINUTES AND COVERED U.S. STRATEGY IN AFRICA, BILATERAL RELATIONS, THE HORN, SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFRICA, AND SUDAN'S NATION-BUILDING EFFORT. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR YOUNG, CHARGE BOGOSIAN AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES (ACCOMPANIED BY PETTERSON, COOKS AND PETREE) TALKED WITH PRESIDENT NIMEIRI FOR ABOUT 90 MINUTES IN KHARTOUM WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 24. FORMIN MANSOUR KHALED AND MINSTATE FRANCIS DENG ALSO PARTICIPATED.

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2. AFTER WORDS OF WELCOME, PRES. NIMEIRI LAUNCHED THE DISCUSSION BY ASKING WHETHER THE U.S. NOW HAS A CLEAR STRATEGY FOR AFRICA. AMB. YOUNG SAID HE THOUGHT WE ARE BEGINNING TO SENSE A DIRECTION IN AFRICA, THOUGH WE ARE MOVING CAUTIOUSLY. THE SUDAN IS OBVIOUSLY AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR LARGER POLICY

STRATEGY. WE HOPE TO WORK WITH AFRICANS, LISTENING TO THEM RATHER THAN ATTEMPTING TO TELL THEM WHAT TO DO. PRESIDENT NIMEIRI EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR U.S. SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY.

3. SUDAN'S DEVELOPMENT PLAN: NIMEIRI SAID SUDANESE MUST THINK HOW TO FIT THEMSELVES WITH OUR APPROACH TO GET THE BENEFITS OF ASSISTANCE WITHOUT INTERRUPTING THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS BY OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. THE SUPERPOWERS AND EUROPEANS OFTEN EXPECT THINGS OF AFRICANS THAT ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO DO. MANY AFRICAN STATES, THEREFORE, FALL BACK INTO SELFISH EXPLOITATION OF THE AID WITHOUT THOUGHT TO NATIONAL OR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OVER THE LONGER TERM.

4. NIMEIRI SAID SUDAN HAS ITS OWN DEVELOPMENT PLAN, AND THE SUDANESE CAN STAND UP AGAINST INTERFERENCE FROM THE OUTSIDE. THEIR PLAN DEPENDS ON INVOLVEMENT OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE WORK OF DEVELOPMENT.

5. THIS TASK REQUIRES SKILL WITH ALL PEOPLE ASSISTING, INCLUDING THE SUPERPOWERS. IF OUTSIDERS TRY TO INTERFERE, THEY MUST GO. THE SUDAN FAVORS RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS; RECENT ACCEPTANCE OF RELATIONS AND PARTICIPATION BY SOUTH KOREA DOES NOT MEAN SEVERANCE OF TIES WITH NORTH KOREA. IF THE ROK WORK WELL HERE, THEY WILL BE WELCOME, AS WOULD TECHNICIANS FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, TRIED TO

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PROMOTE THE SMALL SUDAN COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH WITH 5000 MEMBERS THEY WANTED TO SEE RULE THE OTHER 17 MILLION SUDANESE.

6. ETHIOPIA: NIMEIRI SAID THE SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA IS BAD BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO SYSTEM OF GOVERNING; INSTEAD IT RESORTS TO KILLING PEOPLE TO CONTROL THE COUNTRY. THERE ARE NO VISIBLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF ERITREA, TIGRE, THE OGADEN AND DJIBOUTI. THE EPMG IS UNLIKELY TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN DJIBOUTI THIS YEAR BECAUSE THEY ARE AFRAID OF THE FRENCH-- BUT IF THE FRENCH PULL OUT, HE THOUGHT THE ETHIOPIANS WOULD TRY SOMETHING. THE ETHIOPIANS ARE NOT AFRAID OF SOMALIA; JUST THE OPPOSITE, IN FACT.

7. ERITREA: NIMEIRI OBSERVED THAT SO FAR THE CUBANS ONLY HAVE MILITARY INSTRUCTORS IN ETHIOPIA. IF THE CUBANS BECOME INVOLVED IN AN ATTACK ON SUDAN, THEY'LL DISCOVER THAT SUDAN IS NOT ANGOLA. HE TERMED

ERITREA A WORLD PROBLEM WITH A UN INTEREST BECAUSE OF THE ORIGINAL POST-WORLD WAR II UN MANDATE THERE. IN RESPONSE TO NIMEIRY'S QUERY ABOUT THE US ATTITUDE, AMB YOUNG SAID WE CONSIDER IT AN ETHIOPIAN AND AFRICAN PROBLEM ON WHICH WE CONSIDER THE SUDANESE VIEW IMPORTANT. MAYNES OUTLINED THE SIGNIFICANCE TO THE US OF THE OAU CONSENSUS REGARDING TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND ASKED HOW THE OAU MIGHT REACT TO THE PROBLEM THIS YEAR.

8. KHALID AND NIMEIRY AGREED THAT THE OAU WAS UNLIKELY TO TOUCH IT. THE OAU, KHALID SAID, IS STILL IMMOBILIZED BY A "HANG-OVER" FROM THE DAYS OF HAILE SELASSIE. HE REFERRED AGAIN TO THE UN COMPONENT OF THE PROBLEM IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD. NIMEIRY SAID HE WOULD SPEAK OF A NEW "SOLUTION" PROPOSAL IN HIS INAUGURATION SPEECH MAY 24. DR DENG INTERJECTED THAT, WHILE THE OAU IS CONCERNED WITH ITS TRADITIONAL CONSENSUS ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY,

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THE REPEATED VIOLATIONS OF BOUNDARIES BY THE ETHIOPIANS HAVE SET MANY OF THE MEMBERS TO RE-THINKING THE PROBLEM.

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9. IN ONE FINAL NOTE ABOUT ERITREA, NIMEIRY COMMENTED THAT THE ERITREANS WERE AT ONE POINT (TIME NOT INDICATED) ABOUT TO ACCEPT FEDERATION AS A SOLUTION. THE REGIME IN ADDIS, HOWEVER, REFUSED TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON THAT BASIS.

10. SOMALIA: HE SAID THE SOMALIS ARE WORRIED ABOUT WHAT TO DO, AND FEEL EXPOSED BY THE SOVIET SWITCH TO ETHIOPIA. THE SOMALIS WILL NEVER COME TO AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE ETHIOPIANS, BUT THEIR SOUNDINGS FOR ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL.

11. ASSISTANCE FOR THE SUDAN: AMBASSADOR YOUNG COMMENTED THAT, IN SOME WAYS, THE US FINDS IT EASIER TO CONTEMPLATE ASSISTANCE FOR THE SUDAN THAN, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR EGYPT. IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTEXT, EGYPT IS INEVITABLY LINKED WITH THE
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MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, COMPLICATING DECISIONS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE WHICH CAN SEEM AIMED AGAINST ISRAEL. THE SUDAN, ON THE OTHER HAND, SUCCESSFULLY STRADDLES THE ARAB AND AFRICAN WORLDS, IS NOT PERCEIVED AS AN IMMINENT ENEMY OF ISRAEL, AND HAS GOOD AFRICAN AND OAU TIES. NIMEIRY ACKNOWLEDGED THE POINT AND SAID THE SUDANESE NATION-BUILDING PLAN IS DESIGNED TO JOIN THE TWO WORLDS SUCCESSFULLY.

12. ZAIRE: ACTUALLY, HE SAID, SUDAN'S RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE ARE NOT VERY CLOSE, BECAUSE MOBUTU IS NOT ABLE TO RUN HIS COUNTRY; THE SUDAN RUNS MOST OF THE NORTHERN PART OF ZAIRE, WHICH KINSHASA DOES NOT APPEAR TO CARE ABOUT. AMB YOUNG COMMENTED THAT THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES NEARLY PERMITTED RESOURCE-RICH SHABA, ZAIRE, TO DISINTEGRATE. PARTLY FOR THAT REASON, WE FOUND IT HARD TO GET INVOLVED MILITARILY IN THE RECENT SHABA TROUBLE. WE SAW NO DIRECT CUBAN PARTICIPATION, AND ALTHOUGH ANGOLA MAY HAVE PERMITTED THE ATTACK THEY DID NOT APPEAR TO US TO HAVE PROVIDED MAJOR DIRECT LOGISTIC SUPPORT. THEREFORE, THE US DECIDED ON ITS PATTERN OF ASSISTANCE TO MOBUTU.

13. HE ADDED THAT JAMAICAN PRIMIN MICHAEL MANLEY TOLD HIM IN MAPUTO THAT THE CUBANS HAD PLANNED BEFORE THE SHABA OPERATION TO WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES FROM ANGOLA, BUT THEY HAD POSTPONED THEIR MOVE TO AVOID AN IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE DIMINISHING THEIR SUPPORT. THE CUBANS ARE BEARING HEAVY COSTS FOR THEIR TROOP PRESENCE IN ANGOLA.

14. NIMEIRY SAID THE CUBANS WERE TRYING TO GET LIBYA TO FUND THEIR EFFORT IN ANGOLA, BUT THE LIBYANS ARE UNLIKELY TO DO THAT. AMB YOUNG SAID THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CASTRO AND QUADDAFY. CASTRO IS STILL SUBJECT TO REASION. WE HOPE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH CUBA BEFORE TOO LONG, WHEN WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO TALK WITH THEM.

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15. AMB YOUNG ASKED NIMEIRY'S COMMENTS ABOUT HIS MILITARY NEEDS. NIMEIRY LISTED FOUR AREAS OF MOST SERIOUS NEED: (A) ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPON SYSTEMS, INCLUDING RADAR; (B) TROOP-CARRYING AIRCRAFT AND HELICOPTERS FOR MOBILE FORCE; (C) FIGHTERS/INTERCEPTORS (F-5S); AND (D) NAVY PATROL CRAFT. IT WAS OBSERVED THAT US DECISIONS ARE STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION. NIMEIRY NOTED THAT APPROXIMATELY 80 PERCENT OF THE ARMY'S ACTIVITIES ARE DEVOTED TO DEVELOPMENT, SO MONIES SPENT ON DEFENSE ARE ALSO A CONTRIBUTION TO NATION-BUILDING. REGARDING THE NEED FOR RADARS, NIMEIRY SAID THE SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY KNOW THE LOOPHOLES IN SUDAN'S SYSTEM, BECAUSE THEY REGULARLY OVERFLY SUDAN ON THE BENGHAZI-ADDIS ROUTE. THIS IS ONE REASON THEY WERE ASKED TO LEAVE.

16. AMB YOUNG PROMISED TO REPORT NIMEIRY'S NEEDS TO THE DEPARTMENT. HE URGED SUDAN TO DO AS MUCH DIPLOMATICALLY AND POLITICALLY AS POSSIBLE, TO CUT DOWN DEFENSE COSTS. NIMEIRY COMMENTED THAT HE THINKS THE SOVIET STRATEGY IS TO FORCE SUDANESE DEFENSE COSTS UP TO SLOW DEVELOPMENT. HE ADDED THAT, OF COURSE, US ASSISTANCE IN OTHER FIELDS WOULD HELP IN DEFENSE AND STABILITY. HE REFERRED BRIEFLY TO THE JOINT COMMISSION'S EFFORTS AND EXPANSION OF THE PRIVATE US PARTICIPATION. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED A GOOD RESPONSE FROM THE FRENCH ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO PARIS.

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Message Attributes

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